

## Message Text

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61  
ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 NEA-09 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-03 H-02

INR-07 L-02 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15

USIA-06 AF-06 SAM-01 IO-10 NIC-01 /084 W  
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R 021753Z APR 75  
FM AMEMBASSY MADRID  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1454  
INFO AMEMBASSY LISBON  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
AMEMBASSY RABAT  
USMISSION NATO  
USCINCEUR  
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

C O N F I D E N T I A L MADRID 2198

E.O. 11652: XGDS  
TAGS: PFOR, PO, SP  
SUBJECT: SPANISH VIEWS ON PORTUGUESE SITUATION

1. DIRECTOR FOR IBERIAN AFFAIRS LUKENS, ACCCOMPANIED BY  
EMBOFF LEE, CALLED ON MFA DIRECTOR FOR WESTERN  
EUROPEAN AFFAIRS DEL PINO APR 1, TO EXCHANGE VIEWS ON  
CURRENT DEVELOPMENTS IN PORTUGAL. DEL PINO REPORTED THAT  
GOS WAS UNDER IMPRESSION THAT U.S. WAS PUSHING EUROPEANS  
TO INTEREST THEMSELVES IN PORTUGUESE DEVELOPMENTS  
AND TAKE ACTION TO INFLUENCE THEM NOT ONLY FOR OBVIOUS  
REASONS OF GEOGRAPHICAL PROPINQUITY BUT ALSO BECAUSE IT  
WOULD ALLOW U.S. TO FOLLOW SOMEWHAT SEPARATE STRATEGY IN  
RELATIONS WITH LISBON. LUKENS REASSURED HIM THAT U.S.  
BELIEVED EUROPEANS HAD MAJOR STAKE IN PORTUGUESE DEVELOP-  
MENTS AND, THEREFORE, SHOULD PLAY ROLE IN MONITORING  
AND, IF POSSIBLE, INFLUENCING PORTUGUESE INTERNAL  
SITUATION BUT THIS WAS ONLY PART OF OVERALL ATLANTIC AND  
ALLIANCE STRATEGY TO WHICH U.S. WAS COMMITTED. SECOND  
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PART OF GOS' ASSUMPTION THEREFORE WAS INCORRECT AND U.S.

WAS NEITHER IN POSITION NOR INCLINED TO PLAY A SEPARATE GAME.

2. DEL PINO REPORTED THAT GOS HAD NOTED IN INDIVIDUAL CONTACTS WITH PORTUGUESE CITIZENS IN PORTUGAL THAT THEY WERE CONFIDENT THAT U.S. AND USSR BETWEEN THEM WOULD NOT ALLOW PORTUGAL TO GO ALL THE WAY TO LEFT FOR STRATEGIC REASONS OF DETENTE. LARGE NUMBERS OF PORTUGUESE FELT, THEREFORE, THAT THEY NEED NOT INVOLVE THEMSELVES IN POLITICS BECAUSE, AS A MATTER OF COURSE, EVERYTHING WOULD WORK OUT ALL RIGHT. ACCORDING TO DEL PINO, THIS COMPLACENCY WAS EXTREMELY DISTURBING AND COULD INFLUENCE OUTCOME OF THE ELECTIONS, IF THEY TAKE PLACE, INSOFAR AS IT MIGHT CONTRIBUTE TO A HIGH DEGREE OF ABSTENTIONISM. LUKENS REPLIED THAT THERE WAS NO AGREEMENT BETWEEN U.S. AND USSR ON PORTUGAL, THAT THE U.S. WAS INDEED CONCERNED BY THE DRIFT TO THE LEFT AND THAT THE PORTUGUESE SHOULD SHAKE THEMSELVES OUT OF THEIR COMPLACENCY AND REALIZE THE GRAVITY OF THE SITUATION.

3. DEL PINO REPORTED THAT BILATERAL RELATIONS BETWEEN SPAIN AND PORTUGAL CONTINUED TO FUNCTION IN A GENERALLY FRIENDLY MANNER, DESPITE AN INCREASING NUMBER OF IRRITANTS. SPINOLA AND ALL HIS 17 FELLOW REFUGEES HAD LEFT SPAIN FOR SOUTH AMERICA, AND GOS HAD SUBSEQUENTLY MADE SATISFACTORY ARRANGEMENTS FOR RETURN OF FOUR HELICOPTERS INCLUDING WEAPONS, WHICH SPINOLA GROUP HAD USED TO FLEE FROM PORTUGAL TO TALAVERA LA REAL. HELICOPTERS HAD BEEN QUARANTINED UNTIL A PORTUGUESE MILITARY AIRCRAFT WITH NEW CREWS ARRIVED SOME 10 DAYS AFTER ABORTIVE COUP TO RETURN THEM TO PORTUGAL. BORDER OFFICIALS OF BOTH COUNTRIES HAVE CONTINUED TO HAVE FRIENDLY CONTACTS INCLUDING MEALS TOGETHER. OFFICIAL BILATERAL COMMISSIONS DEALING WITH BORDER MATTERS, E.G., WATER AND POWER EXCHANGES, CONTINUED TO MEET AS SCHEDULED AND DO THEIR BUSINESS WITHOUT DIFFICULTY. ON OTHER HAND, GOS HAD NOTED SHARP INCREASE OF ANTI-SPANISH PROPAGANDA IN PORTUGUESE MEDIA.

4. PORTUGAL AND NATO. DEL PINO SAID HE THOUGHT THAT PLATEAU OF PORTUGUESE PATIENCE AND INDULGENCE IN ITS RELATIONS WITH NATO WAS RELATIVELY HIGH AND PORTUGUESE CONFIDENTIAL

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WOULD PUT UP WITH A LOT BEFORE BREAKING OFF. NATO TIE WAS USEFUL TO AFM AT MOMENT AND PARTICULARLY USEFUL TO SOVIETS WHO OBVIOUSLY HAD NO INTEREST IN HAVING PORTUGAL SEPARATED FROM NATO BECAUSE OF ITS USEFULNESS AS A DISRUPTIVE FACTOR WITHIN ALLIANCE.

5. INTERNAL AFFAIRS. GOS HAD CONCLUDED THAT RECENT CABINET CHANGES IN PORTUGAL AMOUNTED TO PUTTING ECONOMY

IN HANDS OF COMMUNISTS OR COMMUNIST SYMPATHIZERS. SPANISH MFA AGREED WITH LUKENS' COMMENT THAT REPLACEMENT OF SOARES WITH ANTUNES MIGHT GRADUALLY LEAD TO CHANGING OF THE GUARD IN PORTUGUESE MFA AND FOREIGN SERVICE.

6. ACCORDING TO DEL PINO, GOS BELIEVED RECENT PORTUGUESE DEVELOPMENTS REPRESENTED DEFINITE LEFTWARD DRIFT, BUT ALL WAS NOT LOST. SPANISH THOUGHT IT WOULD NOT BE OPPORTUNE AT PRESENT TO EXERT EXCESSIVE PRESSURE OR USE FORCE TO TRY TO INFLUENCE INTERNAL PORTUGUESE DEVELOPMENTS, BUT RATHER TO PLAY ON FEW ASSETS WE DID HAVE AVAILABLE TO US.

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